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## The Responsibility For Cuba

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approached its inquiry into the Cuban invasion fiasco, which handed the United States another serious foreign policy defeat and entrenched communism more thoroughly in the Caribbean nation, with sobriety and dignity. No scapegoats are being thrashed publicly by the committee. Sen. William Fulbright, chairman, says evidence shows that the responsibility is shared.

It is shared by the President, who gave the signal of approval, obviously with abominably bad advice. It is shared by the Central Intelligence Agency, which obviously underestimated the possible military response of the Communist-armed Castro forces and overestimated Cubans' zeal for counterrevolution. It is shared by the Department of State, whose secretary, Dean Rusk, is said to have approved the invasion action, reluctantly, on the basis of advice received from Latin-American affairs specialist, Adolph Berle.

The Cuban expatriates who engaged in the ill-fated mission were too few in number. They were inadequately equipped. They were not provided with sufficient cover to deal with Red arms strength controlled by Castro regulars and militia, including Russian Migs. The timing was bad, and the action lacked coordination. It had been believed that the Cuban people, once informed of a counter-revolutionary effort, would rush to support the invaders. Police state controls in part may have

dampened some ardor, but it is apparent that a majority of the island's peasants and workers are satisfied with the authoritarian government they now have.

A few days ago in Havana Castro spoke to multithousands of Cubans who cheered wildly his statements. "You don't need free elections — you have me." This is not the first time Castro has made this declaration. A few months after the successful installation of leaders of the July 26 movement in control of Cuba, succeeding the bloody Batista regime, Castro made it clear that the republican form, with popular elections, was not in the wood. His goal was a total Socialist state, and this is now a fact in Cuba.

It creates a serious, although far from critical, problem for the United States in its hemispheric relations. The processes of social revolution are underway throughout the Latin-American states, and our task is to encourage these movements toward stable political, social and economic circumstances, or risk further losses similar to that of Cuba.

Sen. Fulbright had warned the Kennedy administration against the Cuban adventure. He urged that the U. S. policy be directed to containment of Castro while strengthening our relations with the rest of the hemisphere. Another member of the committee, Sen. Frank Church, said it this way: "Communism cannot be shot down in Latin America; it must be shown up, and this should be the object of our policy."